

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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P R 061640Z DEC 77
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OREP CS
SUBJ: CODEL MCGOVERN

1. TEXT OF SEN MCGOVERN'S DEC 2 SPEECH AT GOCR-SPONSORED SYMPOSIUM
ON DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT AT NATIONAL THEATRE:

2. BEGIN QUOTE: THANK YOU VERY MUCH MINISTER OF PLANNING ZUMBADO,
PRESIDENT FIGURES, FOREIGN MINISTER FACIO, MINISTER OF HEALTH DR
WEINSTOK, AMBASSADOR WEISSMAN, AMBASSADOR OLAMI, AND LADIES AND
GENTLEMEN: FIRST, LET ME JUST SAY VERY BRIEFLY WHAT A PLEASURE IT
IS FOR MRS MCGOVERN AND ME TO BE IN SAN JOSE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS
IMPORTANT CONFERENCE THIS AFTERNOON. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE BEEN IN COSTA
RICA ONLY ABOUT TWO DAYS, A VERY WARM AND ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME
THAT WE HAVE RECEIVED HERE FROM EVERYONE MAKES US FEEL AS THOUGH
WE'RE OLD FRIENDS.

SOME OF YOU MAY KNOW THAT I RAN FOR PRESIDENT IN 1972 AND ALTHOUGH
WE DID SOME THINGS RIGHT IN THAT CAMPAIGN, WE PERHAPS ALSO MADE
SOME MISTAKES. BUT BASED ON WHAT I HAVE SEEN HERE THE LAST TWO
DAYS, I THINK THE BIGGEST MISTAKE WAS THAT I RAN IN THE WRONG
COUNTRY.

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ON THE OTHER HAND, AFTER HAVING MET WITH SEVERAL OF YOUR PRESI-
DENTIAL CANDIDATES YESTERDAY AND HAVING HAD A VERY FINE VISIT WITH
PRESIDENT ODUBER AND ALSO WITH FORMER PRESIDENT FIGUERES, I'VE
DECIDED THAT THE COMPETITION IS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT HERE THAN IT
WOULD BE BACK HOME.

THIS NOON AT A LUNCHEON, ONE OF THE EDITORS, JOURNALISTS AND
DISTINGUISHED WRITERS OF COSTA RICA, ALBERTO CANAS, TOLD ME THAT

HE WAS WALKING DOWN THE STREET IN NEW YORK CITY DURING 1972 WITH THE COSTA RICAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS, AND ONE OF THE MCGOVERN VOLUNTEERS SOLICITED THEM FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR CAMPAIGN AND EACH ONE OF THEM CONTRIBUTED TEN DOLLARS. I WILL HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT THAT'S A MINOR VIOLATION OF THE LAW BUT IT WAS FOR SUCH A LOFTY CAUSE, THAT I THINK PROBABLY IT HAS BEEN FORGIVEN. IN ANY EVENT, I DO WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I TREASURE THAT TEN DOLLAR CONTRIBUTION EVEN MORE THAN I WOULD A WHOLE SUITCASE OF MONEY FROM MR VESCO.

LET ME JUST SAY NOW AT THE OUTSET OF MY REMARKS THAT I THINK THIS FORUM DEALS WITH TWO OF THE VERY IMPORTANT CONCERNS THAT FACE US IN ALL COUNTRIES AND THAT IS THE QUESTION OF HOW WE CAN UNIFY THE CLAIMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROMISING A BETTER STANDARD OF LIFE FOR ALL OF US WITH THE EQUALLY IMPORTANT CLAIMS OF PERSONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. I CANNOT THINK OF A MORE IMPORTANT CHALLENGE THAT FACES US TODAY AND IN THE DECADE AHEAD. WHAT WE MUST ACHIEVE IN THIS INCREASINGLY INTERDEPENDENT WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE IS TO UNITE THE CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT WITH THE CONCEPT OF LIBERTY AND THAT, I THINK, WILL BE A FULL TEST OF OUR CAPACITY AS SELF-GOVERNING PEOPLES.

ONE OF THE DISTRESSING CIRCUMSTANCES THAT I HAVE GRAPPLED WITH IN MY OWN COUNTRY WHICH IS AT LEAST AS TRUE IN THIS REGION WHERE WE

MEET THIS AFTERNOON IS THAT ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT UNCLASSIFIED

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GAINS IN ECONOMIC GROWTH IN OUR NATIONAS AS A WHOLE THOSE GAINS HAVE NOT BEEN EQUALLY DISTRIBUTED TO THE POPULATION AS A WHOLE. IN SPITE OF VERY SUBSTANTIAL NATIONAL GROWTH, FOR EXAMPLE, IN THIS REGION, HALF OF THE POPULATION STILL SUFFERS FROM SUBSTANDARD DIETS. THIS IS A MATTER OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO ME AS ONE WHO SEVENTEEN YEARS AGO HEADED UP PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM INTERNATIONALLY AND WHO UP TO THE PAST SEVENOR EIGHT YEARS HAS BEEN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF NUTRITION IN THE UNITED STATES. AND WHILE WE CAN TAKE PRIDE IN THE EXTENSION OF EDUCATION AND LITERACY OFMORE AND MORE PEOPLE, IT OUGHT TO BE MATTER OF REAL CHALLENGE TO US THAT STILL ONE-FOURTH OF ALL THE ADULTS ARE STILL ILLITERATE. REGRETTABLY THAT IS AN EXAMPLE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH DIVORCED FROM BROAD SOCIAL CONSIDERATION AND FROM THE GOALS OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE AND FREEDOM. THOMAS JEFFERSON, ONE OF THE GREAT LEADERS IN THE AMERICAN PAST, ONCE SAID THAT TO EXPECT A PEOPLE TO BE BOTH FREE AND ILLITERATE AT THE SAME TIME IS TO EXPECT SOMETHING THAT NEVER HAS BEEN AND NEVER CAN BE. SO WE NEED TO BROADEN NOT ONLY THE AREAS OF NUTRITION AND PHYSICAL HEALTH, BUT TO EXTEND THE BENEFITS OF EDUCATION AND LITERACY TO ALL OF OUR PEOPLE.

THE BASIC DOCUMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TALK ABOUT 'HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS'. THEY SPELL OUT THE FULL RANGE OF RIGHTS

AND FREEDOMS--CIVIL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL, AND ALL OF THOSE TERMS, I MIGHT ADD, ARE INVOLVED IN ANY MEANINGFUL DEFINITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. NO SOCIETY IS HEALTHY THAT IS NOT CONSCIOUSLY STRIVING TO REALIZE MORE FULLY ALL OF THESE RIGHTS, AND THEY ALL STAND OR FALL TOGETHER. I THINK TOO OFTEN IN THE PAST WE HAVE ASSUMED THAT JUST BY INCREASING THE SIZE OF OUR FINANCIAL COMMITMENT THAT THAT WOULD AUTOMATICALLY RESULT IN A BETTER LIFE AND MORE EQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BENEFITS OF LIFE FOR ALL. THAT WAS A MISTAKEN ASSUMPTION, BECAUSE AS WE HAVE SEEN IN SO MANY COUNTRIES, THE SO-CALLED "TRICKLE DOWN" THEORY DOES NOT ALWAYS WORK AND TENDS TO RECONCENTRATE POWER RATHER THAN TO DIFFUSE IT.

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PART OF THE CHALLENGE THAT I THINK WE DEAL WITH HERE THIS AFTERNOON IN DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IS BREAKING THE STERILE IMPASSE BETWEEN "CAPTIALISM" AND "SOCIALISM" THAT HAS FOR SEVERAL GENERATIONS SERVED AS AN ANESTHESIA TO IMAGINATION AS WE WERE ALL CAUGHT UP IN THE RIGIDITY OF ONE OR THE OTHER OF THOSE SYSTEMS. THE SIMHJE TRUTH IS, FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS SEEM TO BE VICTIMIZED BY GOVERNMENTS AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS IN ANY SOCIETY THAT DOES NOT HAVE ADEQUATE INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY NO MATTER WHAT TYS PARTICULAR IDEOLOGY THAT IS ATTACHED TO THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM. ANY INSTITUTION

THAT HAS BECOME SOCIALLY ACCOUNTABLE CAN SERVE THE COMMON GOOD. IT MAY NOT BE SO MUCH THE NAME OF THE SYSTEM, AS WHETHER OR NOT IT IS EFFECTIVE AND ACCOUNTABLE TO THE

PUBLIC THAT DETERMINES ITS SOCIAL USEFULNESS.

I THINK IT'S CLEAR THAT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE
CANNOT BE ACHIEVED OR AT LEAST IT CANNOT BE EASILY
ACHIEVED WITHOUT STEADY ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.
FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY, WE'RE GRAPPLING
WITH THE PROBLEM OF HOW THROUGH AFFIRMATIVE ACTION STEPS
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WE CAN ENLARGE THE AREAS OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR OUR
MINORITY CITIZENS AND FOR THE MAJORITY WHO ARE THE WOMEN.
BUT IT WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT TO ACCOMPLISH THAT SO LONG

AS THERE ARE TOO FEW JOBS FOR ALL OF OUR PEOPLE. THE
TENDENCY TO BROADEN JOB OPPORTUNITIES OR TO OPEN UP
MORE ADEQUATE HOUSING FOR OUR PEOPLE IS LIMITED VERY
SEVERELY BY THE SHORTAGES OF GOOD JOBS AND GOOD HOUSES
FOR OUR CITIZENS. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT BY ITSELF DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY PRODUCE
SOCIAL JUSTICE. SO I THINK THE THEMES OF THIS CONFER-
ENCE ARE WELL STATED IN THAT WE NEED BOTH ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT AND ENLARGING THE REACH OF DEMOCRACY.

THE QUESTION THEN IS WHAT MUST BE DONE. I THINK
FIRST WE MUST INTEGRATE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL
FREEDOMS WITH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. BECAUSE AS HAS
BEEN SAID SO OFTEN, WHERE THERE IS POVERTY AND LACK OF
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THERE CANNOT BE FULL POLITICAL PARTI-
CIPATION AND FREEDOM AND, WHERE THERE IS POLITICAL
OPPRESSION, THERE MORE OFTEN THAN NOT WILL BE ECONOMIC
EXPLOITATION ALSO. THEREFORE, BOTH ECONOMIC DEVELOP-
MENT AND POLITICAL LIBERTY ARE ESSENTIAL, EACH FOR
THE GOOD AND HEALTH OF THE OTHER, AS WELL AS A GOOD
OBJECTIVE IN ITS OWN RIGHT.

IN THE RECENT DECADES IN MY OWN COUNTRY, THROUGH
THE NEW DEAL OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, THE NEW FRONTIER
OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY, AND THE GOOD SOCIETY OF LYNDON
JOHNSON, THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN OUR
OWN COUNTRY HAS REPRESENTED A SEARCH FOR UNITY BETWEEN
DEVELOPMENT ON ONE HAND AND SOCIAL JUSTICE ON THE OTHER.
MANY OF THE DEVELOPMENT ISSUES WE HAVE CONFRONTED STEM
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FROM THE SEARCH FOR A SYSTEM THAT PERMITS BOTH PERSONAL
LIBERTY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OPPORTUNITIES OF EACH
INDIVIDUAL. WE HAVE SOUGHT -- AND WE CONTINUE TO SEEK --

DEVELOPMENT FOR EACH CITIZEN. WE HAVE SOUGHT -- AND
WE CONTINUE TO SEEK -- DEVELOPMENT AND LIBERTY IN MANY WAYS.

ECONOMICALLY WE HAVE SOUGHT THESE TWIN GOALS OF DEVELOP-
MENT AND LIBERTY THROUGH THE WAR ON POVERTY AND A WHOLE
RANGE OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION. SOCIALLY WE HAVE SOUGHT

GOALS THROUGH CIVIL RIGHTS, MORE RECENTLY FOCUSED ON
THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENTS, THAT YOU HAVE READ ABOUT
IN CONNECTION WITH THE RECENT CONFERENCE IN HOUSTON, TEXAS.
AND POLITICALLY, THROUGH INCREASED ATTENTION BY THE
CONGRESS,
AND EQUALLY IMPORTANT BY THE COURTS OF THE LAND,
TO THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS OF INDIVIDUALS NOR-
MALLY OUTSIDE THE POWER ELITES, BUT WHOSE INTERESTS ARE
AFFECTED BY LEGISLATION AND POLITICAL DECISIONS.

AND NOW I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE SOME BRIEF COMMENTS WITH
REGARD TO US POLICY TOWARD LATIN AMERICA WHICH, BECAUSE OF
A CHANGING WORLD SITUATION, HAS TO BE CONSIDERED IN A CON-
TEXT THAT IS MUCH DIFFERENT THAN IN PAST YEARS. IN THE
PAST, US RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA, WHICH WE CONSIDERED
OUR SPECIAL
SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, WERE CHARACTERIZED BY
PATERNALISTIC POLICIES WHICH FOSTERED DEPENDENCY AND
SUBSERVIENCE AND A TENDENCY, REGRETABLY, TOWARDS INTER-
VENTION ON OUR PART. POLITICAL AND MILITARY INTERVENTION
AND ECONOMIC DOMINANCE WERE FAR TOO OFTEN USED AGAINST THE
RELATIVELY WEAK LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES TO THE SOUTH OF
US. OUR LATIN AMERICAN POLICY WAS IDENTIFIED AT VARIOUS
TIMES BY SLOGANS SUCH AS FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S "GOOD NEIGH-
BOR POLICY", JOHN KENNEDY'S "ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS" IN
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WHICH I WAS INVOLVED BRIEFLY, PRESIDENT NIXON'S SO CALLED
"MATURE PARTNERSHIP" AS KNOWN BY SOME PEOPLE AS "BENIGN
NEGLECT", AND THE SO3*KMLLED "NEW DIALOGUE" THAT WE'VE TALKED
ABOUT IN MORE RECENT TIMES.

I THINK A NEW LATIN AMERICAN POLICY MUST BE KNOWN MORE
BY DECISIVE ACTION AND LESS BY THE KIND OF RHETORIC THAT
HAS CHARACTERIZED OUR RELATIONSHIP IN THE PAST. AND IT
WILL NOT BE AN EASY TASK TO BREAK FREE FROM SOME OF THESE
PATTERNS THAT ARE FROM THE PAST. THE CHANGE IS ALWAYS
DIFFICULT, ALWAYS UNCERTAIN AND USUALLY PAINFUL. THE

CHANGE TODAY, HOWEVER, MUST COME ABOUT WITHIN THE CONTEXT

OF NEW GLOBAL CIRCUMSTANCES THAT ARE NOT PECULIAR TO
THIS HEMISPHERE ALONE, BUT CONFRONT NATIONS THE WORLD

AROUND. THE CHANGE HAS TO COME ABOUT IN THE CONTEXT OF NEW REALITIES AS TO THE GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS. IT HAS TO COME ABOUT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF NEW AND CONSISTENT DEMANDS ON THE PART OF THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES FOR MORE CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DESTINIES. IT MUST BE REALIZED THAT THE CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS HAVE BECOME INDEPENDENT ACTORS IN THE INTERDEPENDENT, INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, ESPECIALLY, AS PRINCIPAL PROPONENTS OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER.

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LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS ARE PLAYING AN INCREASINGLY LARGER ROLE OR HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO PLAY A ROLE IN THE EVOLUTION OF THESE THIRD WORLD POLICIES. AS A MAJOR EXPORTER OF PRIMARY MATERIALS AND MANUFACTURED GOODS, THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES WILL PLAY A CONSIDERABLE ROLE IN DETERMINING THE FUTURE OF WORLD TRADE. WITH THE CAPACITY TO EXPAND FOOD PRODUCTION, LATIN AMERICA COULD PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN DEALING WITH WHAT COULD VERY WELL BECOME THE NUMBER ONE CONCERN OF THE GLOBE, AND THAT IS ITS CAPACITY TO FEED ITS OWN PEOPLE. LATIN AMERICA COULD SOON BE IN A POSITION TO OFFER NEW TECHNOLOGIES TO OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS ARE KEY TO THE ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE LAW OF THE SEA.

THESE REALITIES OF THE NEW GLOBAL SITUATION OFFER THE UNITED STATES THE OPPORTUNITY TO FORMULATE A NEW POLICY WHICH WILL ENABLE US TO COOPERATE MORE EFFECTIVELY WITH OUR LATIN AMERICAN NEIGHBORS IN A SPIRIT OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND RESPECT. WE OBVIOUSLY HAVE

PROBLEMS AND THERE WILL BE CERTAIN IRRITANTS THAT ARE UNAVOIDABLE

IN THE FIELD OF TRADE POLICY, ON MATTERS OF IMMIGRATION AND COM-MODITY ARRANGEMENTS. THOSE PROBLEMS, HOWEVER, CAN BE DEALT WITH IF WE APPROACH THEM WITH THE CLEAR REALIZATION THAT ALL PARTIES HAVE A GENUINE STAKE IN THEIR SOLUTION.

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I THINK THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS IN OUR RELATIONSHIPS DO NOT LEND THEMSELVES TO SHORT-TERM SOLUTIONS. BUT A MAJOR COMPONENT OF A NEW UNITED STATES POLICY SHOULD BE A GENUINELY POSITIVE AND PRO-GRESSIVE ATTITUDE THAT CAN BE APPLIED IMMEDIATELY TO ISSUES WHICH WILL DEMAND THE CONCERTED ATTENTION OF US ALL. FOR EXAMPLE, THE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT THAT HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED MOST DIRECTLY WITH PRESIDENT CARTER, BUT WHICH INCIDENTLY BEGAN AT LEAST THREE YEARS AGO WITH VARIOUS STEPS THAT WERE TAKEN IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO UNDERSCORE OUR CONCERN NOT ONLY WITH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND MILITARY SECURITY BUT ALSO WITH THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR PEOPLES EVERYWHERE. THAT, I THINK, IS A MANIFESTATION OF A NEW AND MORE POSITIVE APPROACH ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES IN ITS RELATIONS THE WORLD AROUND.

I THINK IT IS CLEAR THAT THE MOVEMENT TOWARD CIVILIAN RULE WHICH WE ARE NOW WITNESSING IN SOME GOVERNMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN UNDER MILITARY RULE IS RELATED AT LEAST IN PART TO THE NEW AND FOWING CONCERN FOR THE EXPANSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. CERTAINLY THE EXPRESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE CONCERN FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THOSE RIGHTS HAS STIRRED THE HOPES AND SPIRIT AMONG PEOPLES ALL AROUND THE WORLD IN WHICH THOSE HOPES HAVE REMAINED DORMANT FOR TOO LONG A TIME.

LET ME JUST SAY, SPEAKING ON A PERSONAL NOTE BUT ALSO AS A MEMBER OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGNRELATIONS, THAT I REGARD THE NEW INITIATIVE TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PANAMA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES WITH REGARDTO A NEW TREATY ON THE PANAMA CANAL, REPRESENTATIVE OF AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH TOWARDS A MORE POSITIVE POLICY ON THE PART OF OUR COUNTRY IN LATIN AMERICA.

I THINK EVERYONE HERE IS AWARE OF THE FACT THAT THE ISSUE OF THE PANAMA CANAL IS FAR GREATER THAN SIMPLY THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PEOPLE OF PANAMA. IT IS AN ISSUE WHICH WILL AFFECT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH EVERY OTHER COUNTRY IN LATIN
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AMERICA. INDEED, I THINK HOW WE RESOLVE THE ISSUE IN THE SENATE WILL HAVE MUCH TO SAY ABOUT HOW THE UNITED STATES IS EVALUATED BY PEOPLES ALL OVER THE WORLD. NOT ONLY DOES THE CANAL RUN ACROSS THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA BUT IN A LARGE SENSE IT RUNS THROUGH THE

VERY CENTER OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

I HAVE SAT THROUGH ALL OF THE HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS WITH REFERENCE TO THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY, AND WE HAVE HEARD NUMEROUS LEGAL QUESTIONS RAISED ABOUT THAT TREATY AND QUESTIONS OF MILITARY SECURITY HAVE BEEN RAISED. BUT I'M VERY PLEASED THAT THE TOP OFFICIALS OF OUR GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING ALL OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, HAVE STRESSED, OVER AND OVER AGAIN, THAT NONE OF THESE QUESTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN RAISED ARE NEARLY SO IMPORTANT AS THE GAINS THAT CAN COME, NOT ONLY TO THE PEOPLE OF PANAMA, BUT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AND ALL THE COUNTRIES IN THIS AREA THROUGH THE NEGOTIATION OF A NEW TREATY.

AND IT WAS A MATTER OF SOME INSPIRATION AND PRIDE TO ME TO HEAR THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF OF THE UNITED STATES COME OUT IN FULL SUPPORT OF THIS TREATY, AND TO SAY THAN IN HIS JUDGEMENT, IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE NEGOTIATE AND RATIFY THIS TREATY TO PUT AN END TO THE LAST VESTIGE OF COLONIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA.

FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER, OUR PRESENT SECRETARY OF STATE MR CYRUS VANCE HAVE ALL TESTIFIED THAT THE SECURITY AND OPERATION OF THE CANAL WOULD BE JEOPARDIZED IF WE ATTEMPT TO CONTINUE INDEFINITELY UNDER THE PRESENT TREATY. I AM DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT IF THE UNITED STATES SENATE WERE NOT TO RATIFY THIS TREATY, IT MIGHT BE ONLY A MATTER OF MONTHS BEFORE WE WOULD BE INVOLVED IN TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE OF THE KIND I THINK THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HOPE WE CAN AVOID. WE WOULD NOT ONLY BE INVOLVED AGAINST A HOSTILE POPULATION IN PANAMA, BUT WE WOULD BE IN A POSITION OF BEING COND-

EMNED BY PUBLIC OPINION THE WORLD AROUND.

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SO I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT MY EFFORTS, AND I'M SURE I SPEAK FOR MAY MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE, WILL BE DEVOTED IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS AHEAD IN TRYING TO PERSUADE THOSE OF OUR COLLEAGUES WHO HAVE NOT YET REACHED A JUDGEMENT ON THIS ISSUE THAT THE UNITED STATES ON THE PANAMA CANAL ISSUE, AS ON OTHER MATTERS, SHOULD MAKE A FIRM COMMITMENT TO FAIRNESS RATHER THAN FORCE. WE WILL ALSO BE STRESSING THAT LATIN AMERICANS IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE, FROM PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES TO PEOPLE ON THE STREET IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE IN THESE COUNTRIES THAT MEAN SO MUCH TO US THAT THEY ARE UNIFORM IN THEIR VIEW THAT NOT TO RATIFY THIS TREATY WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR THE RELATIONSHIPS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICA.

ADD JUST THIS FINAL WORD ON THE PANAMA ISSUE: IF THIS TREATY WERE TO FAIL RATIFICATION IN THE SENATE, IF SOMETHING MORE THAN ONE-THIRD OF THE SENATE WERE TO SAY "NO", IN MY JUDGEMENT THAT WOULD NOT ONLY BETRAY OUR BEST POLITICAL ALLIES AND OUR MOST DEPENDABLE FRIENDS IN LATIN AMERICA, BUT PRESIDENT CARTER, HAVING INVESTED HIS OWN POLITICAL FUTURE ON THE SUCCESS OF THIS TREATY, AND HAVING LISTED IT AS THE NUMBER ONE PRIORITY OF HIS ADMINISTRATION AS A

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NEW PRESIDENT, HE HIMSELF WOULD BE IN DANGER OF POLITICAL DEFEAT SHOULD THE SENATE SAY NO TO HIM ON THIS ALL-IMPORTANT QUESTION.

ONE OTHER ISSUE THAT I WANT TO JUST TOUCH ON VERY BRIEFLY IS THE QUESTION OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH CUBA AND THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF OUR AREA. AS MANY OF YOU ARE AWARE, I HAVE BEEN ONE OF THOSE IN THE SENATE THAT HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGING SOME STEPS TO OPEN UP A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA. I THINK OUR PRESENT POLICY, NO MATTER WHAT THE RATIONALIZATION MIGHT HAVE BEEN AT THE BEGINNING, NO LONGER FITS TODAY'S REALITIES. FOR EXAMPLE, I DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE LOGIC THAT LEADS US TO THINK IT IS WISE FOR US TO TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, THE LARGEST AND MOST POWERFUL OF THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES IN TERMS OF ITS INDUSTRIAL AND MILITARY CAPABILITY, OR WITH CHINA, THE MOST POPULOUS OF ALL THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, AND YET AT THE SAME TIME TO DENY ANY KIND OF COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THIS LITTLE COMMUNIST COUNTRY A FEW MILES OFF OUR SHORE.

I DO NOT ADVOCATE TRADE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AS A SPECIAL FAVOR TO CUBA, BUT SIMPLY AS A COMMON-SENSE ARRANGEMENT THAT WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES. THIS IS NOT TO DENY THAT THERE ARE MAJOR ISSUES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE NEGOTIATED. THE ISSUES OF COMPENSATION OF EXPRO-

RIATED PROPERTY, FOR EXAMPLE, THE RELEASE OF REMAINING UNITED STATES PRISONERS, THE CONTINUED CONFINEMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN CUBAN JAILS -- BUT THESE ARE MATTERS IT SEEMS TO ME THAT COULD BE BETTER RESOLVED IF WE HAD AN ACTIVE, NORMAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA THAN BY CONTINUED ECONOMIC BOYCOTT.

AS WAS THE CASE ON THE PANAMA ISSUE, US POLICY TOWARD CUBA TRANSCENDS OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH CUBA. IT AGAIN BECOMES A SYMBOL OF US ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIVERSITY IN THE HEMISPHERE. IT IS A SYMBOL THAT THE UNITED STATES

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ONCE AGAIN IS DEALING REALISTICALLY WITH LATIN AMERICA. IN WHAT I HAVE ALWAYS REGARDED AS HIS GREATEST SPEECH, THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY SPEECH OF JUNE 10, 1963, THE LATE PRESIDENT KENNEDY SAID THAT WE SHOULD NOT SEEK A WORLD MADE IN THE AMERICAN IMAGE, BUT A WORLD MADE SAFE FOR DIVERSITY. AND THAT I THINK IS A GOOD GUIDELINE TO THE FUTURE.

WHAT I'M ADVOCATING, IN CONCLUSION, IS A UNITED STATES POLICY THAT CONSIDERS LATIN AMERICA AS A VITAL PART OF THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY. I THINK WE HAVE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH EACH OTHER TO RESOLVE OUR COMMON PROBLEMS. THIS POLICY HAS TO BE DRIVEN BY AN APPROACH WHICH SHOULD REACH BACK IN OUR RECENT PAST FOR THE MOST POSITIVE AND ENDURING ASPECTS OF OUR VARIOUS POLICIES. BUT IN THE CONTEXT OF NEW REALITIES, THERE IS A REAL NEED TO FOCUS INCREASED ATTENTION ON LATIN AMERICA. AND I KNOW THE PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICA WANT THAT POSITIVE ATTENTION. I FEEL STRONGLY THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WANT THE NEW TIES OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION AS WELL.

MUCHISIMO GUSTO, MUCHAS GRACIAS. END QUOTE.
WEISSMAN

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Office: ACTION H
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Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 10
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 343299
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CODEL MCGOVERN
TAGS: OREP, CS, (MCGOVERN, GEORGE)
To: STATE PANAMA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8d78a70a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
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EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
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